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EXPOSÉ BY PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU
AT THE
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In answer to the invitation of the Foreign Policy Association of New York, State Council President Nicolae Ceaușescu of the Socialist Republic of Romania and his wife Elena Ceaușescu, attended, on October 22, a luncheon given in their honour by the Association executives.

On the occasion, President Nicolae Ceaușescu made an exposé on Romania's foreign policy and answered a number of questions put by the participants in the meeting.

EXPOSE BY PRESIDENT NICOLAE CEAUSESCU
AT THE
FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK

Mr. President of the Foreign Policy Association,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

First of all, I would like to thank you cordially for this manifestation and express satisfaction for being in your midst, together with my wife and associates, this morning.

The meeting with you, distinguished representatives of American public opinion, is for us a happy occasion to succinctly expound the basic coordinates of Romania's home and foreign policy, her stand on the principal problems contemporary mankind is faced with.

As you know there is a perfect unity between the home and foreign policy of any country, that these two faces of the states' policy condition each other. Romania's foreign policy has its source in the very structure of the country's social system. It reflects the preoccupations of the Romanian people, of its socialist State, to contribute to the achievement of an international climate of peace and cooperation that should permit all the nations to fully dedicate their forces and creative capacities to the cause of their progress and welfare.

Along its history, the Romanian people has experienced for a long time oppression and foreign domination, fact which delayed, to an extent, the economic and social development of the country.

Following the efforts made by the whole people in the post-war period, Romania has become a State with a dynamic economy, in a continuous process of modernisation and diversification. The rates at which the country's industrial output

has developed have been, in almost all these years, among the highest in the world. To give an example, I would like to say that in the last ten years the average annual growth rate of industrial production has been of 12.9 per cent. Numerous new industrial branches have been developed, branches which are linked to the demands of the technical-scientific revolution of our days. Education, science, culture, the whole social life of the country have powerfully advanced. The material standard and the spiritual level of the people have steadily risen.

It is evident, that engaged with all its energies and creative capabilities in the fulfilment of this vast and complex constructive programme our people is deeply interested in the establishment of international conditions of cooperation and peace that should make it possible for it to translate into life its future plans. By the targets it has set itself, the foreign policy of Romania has precisely answered these interests of the Romanian people to live in conditions of full international security, of fruitful cooperation with the other nations.

As you well know, Romania is a socialist state and as such, within her foreign policy she pays special attention to the development of her relations with the other socialist states in Europe and on the other continents. Our country has also set herself as a most significant target of her foreign policy the sustained promotion of broad relations of cooperation with all the countries of the world, irrespective of social system.

Romania holds that the development of multilateral cooperation among all the countries is, in the present-day conditions, not only a necessity for general progress, but also an essential condition for international détente, for the practical implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The relations Romania promotes with all the states of the world - and we would like to show here that our country has at present diplomatic relations with 97 states and entertains economic exchanges with more than 100 countries - are based unabatedly on the respect of national independence and sovereignty, of the right of each people to develop in a free and sovereign way, without outside interference, on the principles of fully equal rights and mutual advantage.

The Romanian State considers that the chief element of the relations among countries is economic and technical-scientific cooperation. Concomitantly with actual commercial exchanges, we promote multiple forms of economic cooperation.

We are, on the whole, for a broad and unhampered international collaboration and cooperation which should give each nation the possibility of fully benefitting of the fruits of world exchange of assets, should lead to the development and progress of each country.

In this context, are also inscribed the relations Romania develops with the United States of America. Of course, our countries have different social systems, but this cannot hinder them from promoting good relations of collaboration and cooperation between them. I would like to say here, that after the Bucharest visit of President Nixon, the relations between Romania and the U.S.A. have made progress, but must also mention that this is still little, that it is not at the level of our possibilities and wish of developing mutually advantageous economic and technical-scientific links.

A more sustained progress of these relations would be possible, in my opinion, by the removal of certain restrictions which still exist at present, both as regards U.S. exports to our country and imports from Romania. I have in mind also the necessity of solving the problem of the clause of the most favoured nation and of taking other measures meant to contribute to the positive evolution of the Romanian-

American relations. I hope that fresh possibilities will be created for the expansion of cooperation in the sphere of economy, technique, and science between Romania and the United States of America. During my unofficial visit these last few days in your country, during the meetings I have had on the occasion with various American businessmen, I have noted that the wish to develop the relations between Romania and the United States of America is common. This will contribute to the strengthening of the friendship between the two peoples and also to the cause of promoting in international life collaboration and cooperation among states.

International life demonstrates that the broad development of collaboration and cooperation among states, based on full equality of rights and mutual advantage, is in the interest of each state, of each people - and at the same time, is one of the essential ways of rapprochement among nations, of liquidating mistrust and animosities among states, of strengthening friendship among peoples. Today, in the conditions of the tempestuous development of the productive forces, of modern science and technique, the exchanges of material and spiritual assets are a basic condition of mankind's advance, of the very flourishing of human civilization.

Romania considers that one of the most responsible duties of the states is to act for the extinguishing of all the hotbeds of tension existing in the world, for the liquidation of any source of conflict, of war danger. In this context, it is necessary to put an end to the war in Vietnam, in the Indochina peninsula, to withdraw the U.S. troops from this peninsula and to ensure to the Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian peoples conditions for them to solve their own problems, without outside interference. We hold that the proposals formulated by the National Liberation Front are a rational basis for the achievement of real progress in the Paris negotiations, for the fastest re-establishment of peace in Vietnam. The cessation of the war in Vietnam would be in the interest of all

the states of the world, of the general cause of international peace and security. You well know that the U.S.A. spends annually almost 30 thousand million dollars in Vietnam. If, by stopping the war, some of this amount would be allocated for the economic development of that zone, the U.S.A. would win many friends and would contribute to the cause of peace and security.

In connection with the Near East, Romania considered and considers that not military actions can lead to the solving of the conflict but the political path, which should ensure the observance of the national interests of all the peoples in that part of the Globe. It is in the spirit of the Security Council Resolution of November 1967, that we speak up for the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the occupied territories, for ensuring the independence and territorial integrity of each state in that area. Romania is against any kind of territorial gains, because this cannot but lead to fresh conflicts, damaging the cause of the nations' peace and progress. We do not see how the Near East conflict could be settled without Israel understanding the necessity of withdrawing from the occupied territories. I think that the fact should be understood that Israel can only develop by peaceful cooperation with the Arab states. A durable solution to the conflict must absolutely take into account also the solving of the problem of the Palestine population, in conformity with its national interests. This presupposes finally, the ensuring of the right to self-determination, hence also the formation of an independent national state.

One of the primordial conditions of the establishment of peace in the world, of avoiding fresh armed conflicts, with unforeseeable repercussions on world security is the firm promotion in international life of the principles of full equality of rights among all the states. The major demand of all the peoples is the observance of their sacred right to live in conformity with their own wishes, to organise

their life and social-economic development according to their fundamental aspirations and interests, without any outside interference. Romania, the Romanian people consider necessary that the democratic forces of society be supported. To tell you honestly, we do not understand why the United States of America supports the most reactionary regimes in the world, when the U.S.A. herself has developed to the point she has reached today following social and national revolutions, following struggles for liberation from foreign yoke. The observance of national independence and sovereignty of the states is today, in our opinion, the cornerstone of international peace and security. The contemporary events highlight more and more powerfully the fact that the time has gone when international problems could be solved by imposing strength by dictate and policy of domination. The peoples are firmly determined - and the last decades have given numerous examples in this respect - not to give up any of their sovereign prerogatives, are firmly determined to defend at any cost their liberty and national independence, their right to decide their own way of life.

Bearing in mind the fact that world peace is indivisible, it is evident that its achievement must be the work of all the states and peoples of the world. I consider that in the settlement of the big problems facing mankind today, in the realisation of détente and international cooperation, a steadily more important role is incumbent on the small and medium-sized states alongside of the big powers. We recognize the role and responsibility of the big powers. But at the same time, we must say that no problem can be settled by these states only. It is only to the extent to which all the states, that is also the small and medium-sized, contribute to the settlement of the international problems that an enduring peace, cooperation and détente can be achieved. International practice shows that the promotion of lasting

solutions for the liquidation of international conflicts and disputes, is inconceivable without taking into account the interests and will of all the peoples.

In this context, I set forth at the Jubilee Session of the United Nations Organization, my country's standpoint, according to which this Organization must act more energetically and more efficiently for the development of broad cooperation among nations, for the participation of all the states in international life, for the promotion of the principles of international law, in the relations among all the countries.

The enhanced role of the U.N. in the world political life is directly linked, in our conviction, to the ensuring of its universality, to the more adequate mirroring of the realities of the world today. Imposed most stringently is the restoration of the lawful rights of the Chinese People's Republic in the U.N. - one of the biggest states of the world, whose role in international life can no longer be ignored by anybody - and a fortiori by such a forum like the United Nations Organization. I think that it must become clear to all statesmen, to all states that without China's participation in the settlement of problems harrassing mankind today one cannot find the best solutions. The participation of the Chinese People's Republic in international life is a demand for the successful solving of the big problems of world peace and security. Likewise, the admission to this Organisation of other states too that are not yet members, would, we believe, also serve the purposes of the U.N.

I would also like to mention the fact that in our opinion, the U.S.A. should withdraw all its troops from South Korea, conditions being created in this way for the Korean people to solve its problems alone and peacefully. This, too, would be an important contribution to the cause of cooperation and peace.

Within her foreign policy Romania attaches special importance to general and complete disarmament and in the first place to nuclear disarmament. We hold that the sole path for the elimination of a devastating thermo-nuclear war is the banning of the use of atomic weapons, the cessation of their production and the complete liquidation of the existing stockpiles. Of course, for paving the road toward this goal, a series of partial,transitory measures can also be taken into consideration, which should contribute to the actual diminishing of the nuclear danger. It is on this consideration that Romania has founded her determination to sign the non-proliferation treaty, considering that this treaty must be followed by fresh and fresh concrete disarmament measures, directed toward the total elimination of the nuclear danger. Our opinion is that mankind is not sheltered from a nuclear war by the mere non-dissemination of nuclear weapons. As long as nuclear weapons exist, as long as such weapons continue to be produced by a few states, there is a permanent danger for all peoples, for all the nations and for civilization itself. Therefore, we consider it the duty of all the peoples to act so that these weapons be banned, that such stockpiles should no longer be heaped up and their destruction be started. This truly corresponds to the interests of the peoples, of the whole of mankind.

Romania speaks up for the abolishment of the military blocs and the dismantling of military bases on the territories of other states, for the withdrawal of foreign troops to within their national frontiers. We speak out against any demonstration of strength, of a nature to produce tension in international relations, against all acts meant to stimulate the arms race. The achievement of disarmament - this great desideratum of the peoples - should not only have an overwhelming significance for world peace but would also contribute directly to speeding up the progress of human civilization.

With the over 200 thousand million dollars spent this year on arming, much could be made for the progress of the less - developed countries as well as for the settlement of many social problems in numerous countries. I believe then even in the U.S.A. the funds that are being spent now for arming could be used for much better purposes.

A particularly acute problem of contemporary life is the maintenance and even deepening of the economic and social gap between the less - developed countries and the economically developed countries. The perpetuation of this state of affairs is, in our opinion, a serious source of dissention, conflicts and tension in the world.

Therefore it is absolutely necessary to act with full responsibility and consistency on the line of removing the gap existing in the development of different parts of the world, of supporting the efforts made by the lagging states and of accelerating their advance on the road of progress and prosperity. In this direction, we believe that the advanced countries could make a more considerable contribution.

To give my honest opinion, this is also an obligation, bearing in mind the fact that the development of many of the advanced countries is also due to the hundreds of years that they plundered the colonies, have acquired part of the national income of those peoples. To contribute to the development of those countries, means to restore a small part of what has been taken from them. I believe this to be honest, just and must be realised.

As a European country, Romania asserts herself as an active promoter of the efforts for security and peace on the continent she is on. We consider that the implementation of European security is of vital importance not only for the peoples on the continent, but also for the interests of security in the whole world. The implementation of security in Europe would have special bearing on détente

in inter-state relations on all the continents.

This presupposes the recognition of the important changes come about on the European continent in the post-war period. I am referring to the recognition of the GDR on the basis of international law, the normalisation of relations of all countries with both German states, the recognition of the inviolability of the frontiers established after the Second World War. We consider that the conclusion of the Soviet-West German treaty is a positive act, an important step ahead, within the efforts for the liquidation of the residues of the last war and of the effects of the cold war in Europe.

Romania considers that the holding of an All-European Conference would open up new prospects for the clearing up of the political horizon on the continent, for the development of friendship and cooperation among peoples. Our country makes her active contribution to the preparation of the All-European Conference, for which, as you know, account is taken of the participation of the U.S.A. and Canada.

We hold that on the path of establishing a lasting peace in the world, of special importance is the creation of regions of cooperation and good neighbourhood, without nuclear weapon. In this respect, Romania constantly acts for the transformation of the region she is in - the Balkans and the Danube basin - into a zone of peace and understanding, of peaceful cooperation, convinced being that by this she contributes to the improvement of the whole international atmosphere, to ensuring world peace and security.

In conclusion, I would like to stress that today, more than ever before, it is necessary that all states - big and small - statesmen and all those concerned with the fate of humanity make concerted efforts on the line of removing all the elements that could endanger peace and push mankind toward a new world conflagration. Taking into account the preoccupations of your organisation, I consider that it could

contribute to a certain extent to the promotion of a policy of cooperation among peoples. In this context, I believe that the establishment of relations between your organisation and similar organisations in Romania could contribute to the development of cooperation between the two peoples.

I consider, that we have the duty to act most energetically for the creation of a world in which the peoples can live in peace and understanding, can fruitfully cooperate, without the fear of aggressions, for the realisation of their aspirations for welfare and progress. I believe that there is no loftier cause than this - and I assure you that the Romanian people and Government will devote to it all energies and endeavours.

I thank you for your kind attention.

After his exposé, President Nicolae Ceaușescu answered a number of questions put by the participants in the gathering.

Answering a question in connection with the possibility of Romanian subjects to travel abroad, the State Council President of the Socialist Republic of Romania said:

"The Romanian citizens can travel in any part of the world, in certain conditions determined, of course, by our economic possibilities. One needs many dollars for coming to the United States. When such a voyage will be cheaper more travels to the U.S.A. will become possible".

A question was next formulated in connection with the possibilities existing in Romania for confrontation between various political groups or parties.

In this question Nicolae Ceaușescu replied the following:

"Romania's historical development has led to the situation of the existence today of one single political party representing the general political opinion of our nation. I must tell you that in the framework of the Romanian society there is a vivid discussing of the various problems of social development, that there is no problem related to the country's home and foreign policy which is excepted from being submitted to the exchange of views among the masses, there is no problem failing to be the outcome of the will of the Romanian people. This actually explains the fact that Romania's home and foreign policy is unanimously supported by the people".

President Ceaușescu was next asked to appreciate the opinions of some Western commentators who say that Romania's home policy differs from her foreign policy cha-

racterized by the promotion of the principles of national independence and sovereignty.

The following answer was given to this question:

"I think that these commentators do not know Romania. I would recommend them to come to Romania and get acquainted with her, and they will find that there is a dialectical unity between the home and foreign policy of Romania. Romania conducts a policy of fully equal rights of both nations and the citizens of the country. A free manifestation in social life is ensured in Romania to all the citizens."

To a question concerning the existing relations between Romania and the Soviet Union, Nicolae Ceaușescu answered:

"Romania's relations with the Soviet Union are good. Last July we signed the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation for the next 20 years. Between the Romanian people and the Russian people there have always been relations of friendship which developed considerably in the post-war period. These relations fully accord with the interests of our peoples and, we consider, with the interest of the whole world."

Answering a question with regard to a so-called "Brezhnev doctrine", Nicolae Ceaușescu said:

"You know, I believe, that the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, comrade L.I. Brezhnev himself has declared that there is no such doctrine and that it was an invention of some western commentators. Ergo, there is not and actually cannot exist such doctrine."

The contents of the next question was whether the trade agreements between the Soviet Union and Romania were equitable.

The answer was: "Yes, the economic agreements between the two countries are equitable."

In connection with the idea promoted by Romania that the abolition of the military blocs and the withdrawal of the foreign troops to within their national frontiers was necessary, a participant in the gathering asked whether the State Council President of Romania could not consider the presence of the U.S. troops in Europe to be a factor for peace and stability.

"The presence of foreign troops on the territories of other states has never contributed to security and peace, but to the aggravation of tension and to war. History demonstrates that if there are no military blocs, if there are no foreign armies on the territories of other states, conditions of equal rights, of cooperation and peace can be achieved. Therefore we consider it necessary that a dissolution of military blocs and the withdrawal of troops from the territories of foreign states should be achieved."

Following a question concerning Romania's position in relation to the Common Market and to the tendencies of political integration in Western Europe.

In this connection, Nicolae Ceaușescu declared the following:

"The Common Market is, in a certain sense, a closed organization. From this point of view, it poses bars to multilateral inter-state exchanges. We consider that all obstacles must be abolished, must be removed from the way to general economic, technico-scientific and cultural cooperation between all the states.

"In this respect political integration neither, nor create favourable conditions for cooperation and cannot be of a nature to contribute to security and peace on the European continent and in the world."

By another question, the Romanian State Council President was asked to state whether problems were still remaining in connection with the settlement of the effects

of the expropriation of American properties in Romania.

The following answer was given: "These questions were settled under the agreement concluded in 1960. No such problem exists at present between the United States and Romania".

Another question was then put, namely if it is possible for American businessmen to invest capital in certain enterprises being built in Romania.

To this question, Nicolae Ceausescu answered: "We want American enterprises and American banks to effect investments in Romania, on condition that everything that is being built should be the property of Romania. The Romanian State gives guarantees to those who want to make investments in Romania. However, we do not want to be again in a position of nationalizing foreign capital for the second time. That is why we want things to be very clear in connection with property on the territory of Romania."

At the end, Nicolae Ceausescu was asked about his impressions of the visit in America, and about what had struck him unfavourably.

The Romanian Head of State answered: "It is rather difficult to concentrate in a few words my impression of my private visit in the United States. Certainly, I have seen many interesting things here. I have had useful discussions and I hope they will have a favourable impact on our relations, especially in the economic field. The visit has afforded to me the possibility to get to know also some aspects of the way you here work and think. Briefly speaking, I may say that the visit has been particularly useful. I have no time now to refer to the negative aspects which, as a matter of fact, you know better."

S. Hayes thanked President Nicolae Ceausescu on behalf of the Association's leadership and of everybody present, for the answers given, for the fact that he honoured this gathering with his presence. All the attendance was applauding lengthily.

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